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as frequently as the others. In the two bands which favor the high moccasin, the possession of a pair of this type is a point of prestige: "The moccasin is worn high when you are able to have this kind. All people of influence had them this way." The seam line at the foot, especially on "dress" moccasins, is often painted red, the upturned portion of the toe may be variously painted, too, and sometimes the folded portion of the upper or the entire moccasin is colored with yellow ocher.

When the man is out hunting, raiding, or fighting, he wears a belt of buckskin or rawhide to which a knife sheath is attached, but in times of peace he seldom takes the trouble to don this when he is around camp.

After the spring ceremony the hair is allowed to grow. "We all wear long hair. A person doesn't dare cut his hair off with a knife. He has to take good care of his hair. To cut it brings bad luck. The only time you do that is when a member of your family has died." A man leaves his hair unbraided. He pushes it to the sides, out of his eyes and over his shoulders, and it is held in place by a band which crosses his forehead.

Yucca root, pounded, is used for shampooing the hair. "After washing the hair, they use fat on it to make it stick together. Also marrow from the shinbone of a deer is used for this purpose."

The faces of the men are smooth; all facial hair is plucked with the fingernails as soon as it is noticed, because "the Chiricahua don't like whiskers." There are exceptions, of course. "There is one man who has let his beard grow for good luck. He told me that when he was young he had a dream that he would have good luck if he let his beard grow. He is over sixty years old now and still has a moustache."

At times of dance and celebration a mixture of grease and red ocher is rubbed on the cheeks, and there are other face paints. "Paint is used for decoration when there is any gathering or dance. It can be put on at any time. Sometimes a person puts circles on each cheek; sometimes some other markings. A few put a streak of sticky mescal juice on each side of the face."

In addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of

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The old man says, "So, you won't obey? I'm going to check you off right now." The boy cries louder. 861 865

"Now stop that! Listen to me. Come over to me or I'm going to get you." The child is frightened. He tries to crawl behind his father, his mother, or his grandmother. But they act as if they have given the old man the privilege to do what he wants with the boy, and they push the boy forward. Then the old man grabs him and struggles with him. He puts him in the sack and says, "Are you going to behave?"

After that the boy is prompt and behaves. If he won't get wood, his mother says, "All right, I'll call the old man." Then he goes for the wood at once. After the old man works on him like this two or three times, he comes to be a good boy.

These old men look fierce and funny. The children are afraid of them. The old man is never the grandparent. It is always an outsider. The grandparent is there with the parents to see the child get his lesson. [603]

Cowing children by reference to ill-favored old people is not to be confused with a manner of joking practiced for another purpose: 522 887

An old woman might joke with a little boy, calling him her husband, telling him, "I'll be back tonight and see you," and making all kinds of funny remarks. Here is what is behind it. They say that when an old person jokes like this it will give long life and good luck to a little child. But [for an old person] to joke about this concerning someone of the child's age is not good. It's against the child. [777]

I've been joked at like this. My aunt [a mother's sister; the child's mother had died] used to play this trick on me. She picked out an old woman who was as ugly as anything. She used to say, "I've brought you up and you've got to do what I tell you. You must marry that old woman." The old woman, when she came around, would say, "I missed you last night. Come over to my place and I'll cook for you."

But they never mention relatives when they joke in this way. To do that will give the child bad habits and bad ideas. If you fool like that with a grandmother, you'll get used to being free with relatives. You'll see your own sister over there and have relations with her. You'll turn into a witch. To encourage joking about marriage with relatives is just like teaching your daughter to play cards all the time or to drink whiskey. 522 602 [754]

To return to other disciplinary measures:

For crying children we have some kind of covering. We do not whip the child if we can help it. We put the covering over the child's head and hold it that way until he stops crying. We do this to little children, do it several times until they stop crying. The little children do not like to have anything over their heads. That is one punishment. 865 861

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About noon Mrs. S. came out, bringing a buckskin. A little later the girl came out. She came directly to the buckskin, and Mrs. S. put her down and rubbed her. Then Mrs. S. made four tracks with pollen on the buckskin. W. sang and led her through the four steps, one song for each step. Then the basket with the bag of pollen and an eagle feather in it was put to the east. She ran around it clockwise and returned to her place. She did this four times. Each time the basket was brought nearer. As she came in the last time, tobacco, fruits, and other presents were thrown into the air just as soon as she got back on the buckskin. [431]

Then she marked W. with pollen, marked him across the nose. He marked her the same way. Next she marked the women and children and they marked her. She marked them across the bridge of the nose also. Then the men came. She marked them on the side of the face. After that she picked up the buckskin and shook it to the directions, beginning with the east. Then more presents were given out. [431]

The procedure just described is a much-reduced version of the full rite. The order of events is altered to compress the activities of many days into the hours of one morning, but the incidents enumerated offer a good inventory of the significant elements. 881

Final preparation and the beginning of the rite.—The ceremony is usually held outside the permanent encampments at a level spot in a clearing selected by the family sponsoring the event. Some days before the exercises are to start (often four days for ceremonial emphasis) the girl's family repairs to the grounds to get everything in readiness. [801]

One of the first acts is to erect the "cook shack," a long, rectangular, leafy shelter to the south of the place where the principal ceremonial structure will stand. [343]

Meanwhile news of the approaching ritual has spread. Members of the local group to which the girl's family belongs and visitors from near-by local groups of the same band gather. If the ceremony is well advertised and the site is near the dividing-line between bands, persons from these neighboring bands may attend. This is a ceremony at which all members of the tribe feel welcome: 881 574 621 619

All the Indians enjoy the feast—poor and rich, the able-bodied and the lame and blind. This feast has been handed down for many, many years. . . . . All the singing is supposed to work out the future life for the girl in order . . . . that she have long life. The songs bring good luck. The ceremony works good luck for everyone that takes part in it and good luck for the old people during the time of the ceremony, also good luck for the spectators. They sing and pray for all. [777]

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The conclusion of the events of the first day.—The attendant now comes forward, followed by the girl. Both are marked with pollen across the face and on top of the head. At the southeast of the structure the woman lays the skin of a four-year-old black-tailed deer. On this the girl kneels. Before her the attendant places a coiled basket tray, made of the unicorn plant, filled with bags of pollen and with ritual objects.

The attendant is the first to come before the girl. She offers pollen to the directions and then paints the girl with it, marking her from cheek to cheek across the bridge of the nose and along the part of the hair. The girl marks her in the same way. A line of persons forms to the south and files past the girl to paint her with pollen and to be painted in turn. "We motion to the directions and then put pollen on her face. She does it to us. If she is a good girl, we'll have good luck then." Mothers bring forward their children to be blessed, painting the girl for them but allowing them to receive pollen from her.

Definite curative powers are attributed to the girl:

> Painting the girl and being painted by her are thought to cure sickness. Some years ago there was a girl who was deformed pretty badly. Her buttocks stuck out in back, and her chest forward. She went through the line with the others. Then the old woman, the girl's attendant, massaged her. A little while later she began to straighten up and finally got entirely well.

cahua act together now to hold the puberty rite. Most Chiricahua informants claim that their tribe used a four-pole tepee without runway. But a number of spokesmen have mentioned either the twelve-pole structure, the runway, or both, as aboriginal Chiricahua features.

In a tale told by an Eastern Chiricahua mention is made of a "big tepee" for which the "poles were of spruce and there was a runway of trees on either side."

Another Eastern Chiricahua said: "We used the tepee for the girl's puberty ceremony and had the same number of poles as are used here. I never saw one with four poles only among my people. There were four main poles."

A Southern Chiricahua claims the twelve-pole tepee for his people, but rejects the runway: "These Chiricahua never used the tepee except at the time of the girl's ceremony. Then they would put up four poles. Then they had eight more to make twelve, just as is done here at Mescalero. They didn't have the runway of small trees to the east. I never saw a Chiricahua have this before coming here."

Yet a four-pole ceremonial structure is specifically mentioned by other informants of these same bands. We may suspect, therefore, that there was a great deal of local variation among the Chiricahua in respect to these details.

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During these events, women of the adolescent girl's family have brought baskets of fruit and nuts to the rear of the hide upon which she has stood. They throw these presents upon the hide, and a scramble ensues. Thus the cycle which began when the pollen footprints were drawn has been completed symbolically; the fruits have followed the pollen and the season of growth. In the good-natured din and confusion the girl and her attendant retire. The girl has custody of the singer's rattle until evening. It is noon before this opening ritual is concluded, and more food is now distributed.

The afternoon is devoted to social activities—dancing in the open space to the east of the ceremonial structure, singing, racing, and visiting. Men gather at the hoop-and-pole ground, while the women play the stave game. The girl's parents move about among their guests, and grateful visitors seek them out to comment upon their hospitality and "to say they are thankful that this daughter has grown up to have the ceremony." "The feast-givers are shown respect, and all obey them. Nobody ever breaks this rule."

Ordinarily, the girl's ritual obligations are over until evening, but she may be requested to treat the very young during the day:

The Chiricahua believe that it is good luck for a child or a baby if a girl who is White Painted Woman lifts it up. At any time during the ceremony the girl can take a very young child, pick it up under the arms, and hold it to the directions. This is done to give the child long life and good luck.

She also helps the infirm:

If your arm is crooked, go to the girl at the time of the ceremony. She can work it and make it straight. She picks up children by the neck too. It is good for them. They tell me to let one of the girls work on me. [This man has a crippled arm.] I go there, but there are lots of people in there, and I back out every time.

In the late afternoon of the first day the adolescent girl or the singer, using a fire drill, lights a fire in the ceremonial structure. This fire is to be kept alive during the course of the ritual or, at least, during the nights. Sometime in the afternoon a great pile of firewood is stacked to the north side of the ceremonial structure. This will be used for the fire around which the masked dancers will perform.

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ment for this. It is like an issue[14] to the boys that comes automatically. This comes from a certain kind of shaman who has to do with war. The drinking-tube is given by the same person and is issued in the same way. The shaman has prayers to the directions. He throws pollen to the directions as he makes these things. The tube and the scratcher have a lightning design on. When the boy comes back, he returns the hat, scratcher, and tube to the shaman. The shaman can use them again for others.

"One who is a novice is different from the others." The difference is in the first instance a ritual one: "The older men treat the novices reverently because these young men are on one of their first raids and there are restrictions upon them." Like the pubescent girl, the novice is identified with a supernatural. "On the raid and warpath the men call the novice Child of the Water." Sacred aspects are further emphasized by behavior and food restrictions:

The novice, when he first gets the tube and scratcher and goes out with the others, cannot turn around quickly and look behind him. He must glance over his shoulder first. And in facing the other way he has to turn toward the sun first, the way they throw pollen. Bad luck would come to the party if this was not done.

If the boy does not use the scratcher, his skin will be soft; the flesh will be no good. He has to use the tube for all drinking. It is a rule that is put upon the boy. If he does not use the scratcher and tube, his whiskers will grow fast.

There is also a very strict rule against a novice having sexual intercourse while he is out.

Another thing: he must use the words that have been taught him. If he disobeys in this, he will be very unlucky.

Novices are not allowed to eat warm food, but must eat it cold. If they have to cook the food, they must let it get cold before they eat it. If the novice eats warm food, horses will not be worth anything to him. He is not allowed to eat entrails either. If he eats entrails, he will not have good luck with horses. Meat from the head of an animal is forbidden to him also.

To these rules various informants have added others. The novice should not gaze upward when he is on the raid or a heavy rain will come. He is not supposed to laugh at anyone, no matter how amusing the situation. He must speak respectfully to all the men and must not talk freely or obscenely about women. He must stay awake until he is given permission to lie down; to go to

[14] The Chiricahua refer to rations and goods distributed by reservation officials and the military as "issues."

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nevertheless is called female rain." To stop rain or snow, lice are hunted and tied to a rock with sinew; or an individual may draw a charcoal ring around his anus and lift his buttocks to the sky to bring the sun out. Sudden storms are regarded with fear. "If it doesn't look like rain, but then the wind and dust come up suddenly and it starts to rain, it brings news—bad news of death. If someone is very sick and this happens, it means he won't last. I have seen it happen."

Various things are seen in the half or full moon, the most common being walnut or cottonwood trees and a human face. Some persons think that watching the sunrise or sunset colors will cause sickness. Warts are also the penalty for pointing to heavenly bodies with the fingers; only the thumb may be so used.

Pulling out gray hair is said to make it grow faster; it is also held that one who brings water and drinks first himself will grow old quickly. It is forbidden to step over a person who is sitting or lying down: "If someone starts to step over you before he sees you, he has to go back. If he has already stepped over, he has to step back." Because it "may cause a severe pain in the stomach, food which is being cooked is not stirred with a knife." Eating frogs can result, it is thought, in bowlegs. Blood and tobacco are considered incompatible:

> My people don't want any blood around when they smoke. If there is blood on the hands, they will get it off before they smoke. If a person has a knife with blood on it, he cleans it up or puts it away before he smokes. He will have bad luck otherwise.

Much of the cosmology is expressed in terms similar to the beliefs already enumerated. Thus, the pitching of a flour-laden burro explains the Milky Way; an earthquake is the crying of the earth over an approaching epidemic; eclipses, either of the sun or of the moon, warn of epidemics also and necessitate a masked-dancer ceremony to ward off the disaster; a shooting star points to an advancing enemy; of a cloudburst it is said, "The sky is old and has split there; when it is sewed up it will be all right."

Of greater significance than such beliefs is a diagnostic sign, a muscular tremor, which few fail to heed at some time in their lives:

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contact with the track of a bear, or a tree where a bear has leaned, or bear manure, or if you sleep where a bear has sat down, or if you come in contact with a bear by smell or touch, you can get sick. 953 825

The smell is very important. As soon as it gets in a person through smell, that person is under evil influence. If a person does not come in contact with a bear but is scared by a bear, it causes sickness too. The condition of fright that a man gets in causes his sickness. [828]

A person suffering from bear sickness gets run down. It seems like he is smelling that bear all the time. At night he is always dreaming that he has hardly got away from a bear that is chasing him, or something like that. . . . . Bear sickness often shows up in a deformity, in a crooked arm or leg. [732]

Should the path of a bear be accidently crossed, an attempt is made to deceive the bear about it. "If you have to cross the tracks of a bear, you say, 'It was a year ago.' It is the custom to say that to make it appear that it happened a long time ago, so the evil influence will keep away."

Specific symptoms equated with the characteristics of the bear mark the onset of bear sickness:

When a man is sick from bear, he acts like a bear. First he gets a pain all over his body. Then his mouth is twisted, and he bites. His whole face twists. His body swells.

Long ago at Fort Stanton two men got sick from bear and died. These two men were out. It was snowing. There was a big pine tree. A bear had been there. The two men slept there all night. They got sick from it. Their arms went behind their backs, and they growled like bears. I saw them when they were sick. They tried to bite me.

A long time ago, when I was a child, I was playing in a cave where a bear had lived. Pretty soon I got sick. I got tired, wanted to lie down, and foam came out of my mouth as it does from the mouth of a bear when he is tired. They had a ceremony performed for me, and I got better. The shaman sang, and I got well that same night. [755]

Coyote, wolf, fox, dog.—The coyote, if he is molested, can, at the very least, bring bad luck or an accident: 825 777 752

Our dog ran ahead [after a coyote]. Suddenly the dog doubled his tracks and ran right in front of S.'s horse. The horse went over as S. tried to avoid the dog, and S. fell and hit his head. He didn't come to for a long time. We were far away from anyone, and I didn't have any water. All I could do was sit there and hold his head and fan him with my hat. By and by he came to. That's what the old men say about coyotes; they say that Coyote is bad and that something always happens to you if you go after one.

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753 More serious is a disease, marked by deformity, which Coyote
732 is capable of causing:
825 When a person has it, his face gets lopsided with the mouth pointing one way. Or he gets cross-eyed, or his legs or hands get cramped. There is a disfiguration somewhere. You can get it from a coyote—from touch or fright or smell, or from crossing its tracks. We kill coyotes sometimes, but we don't touch the skins.

Eye defects, particularly, are attributed to coyote sickness. "One man whose eyeballs turn up told me that his eyes were all right until he used a coyote skin for a rug. Since then his eyes have been bad."

753 The coyote shares his evil reputation with the wolf and the
825 fox. Most informants class the three together and claim that the ceremony that will cure sickness from one of them will serve for illness brought by the others. There is a definite feeling that the fox is the least dangerous of the trio and that the coyote is the
[763] most baneful. The appearance of a fox, however, is taken as an omen of impending death: "Gray Fox . . . . is connected with death. If at dark Fox goes near some camps, that means that someone in that group is going to die."

In the following discussion the nexus between wolf sickness and the evil influence of the coyote is made clear:

[777] The wolf, coyote, and fox . . . . bring bad luck and make you sick, even if you
[732] only touch them or smell their breath. Such contact deforms a person, making him cross-eyed, turning his lips, and making him twitch. At Fort Sill an old lady had her dog follow a wolf. The woman went after the wolf in order to help her dog, and she pulled the wolf, which was in a hole, by the hind leg. She became
[755] ill. She began to get cross-eyed and to shake, and her lips became crooked. Geronimo was living then, and he sang over her and cured her.[10]

231 Of dogs the people say: "We didn't have dogs in the old days.
177 Dogs make a lot of noise. The Chiricahua were on the run and couldn't have them." "We have had them only since contact
231 with the whites." Evidently the dog was at first greatly feared:
753 The dog was classed with the coyote, wolf, and fox. We felt that all of them
825 could cause you trouble. We wouldn't touch the skin of a dead dog. When you have a disease from a dog, the saliva comes down as it does with a mad dog. You get a little crazy and go, "Aaaa!"

[10] Geronimo's coyote power ceremony (pp. 40–41) is probably what was used on this occasion.

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755 262 [784] I went to visit C. I stood in front of him. He said, "Don't stand over me. Someone performed a ceremony for me and said that no one was to stand over me."

I never eat tongue myself. I had a ceremony performed over me when I was young, and at the end of it I was warned not to eat meat from the head of any animal.

A food taboo which becomes too irksome can be ceremonially lifted, however:

[788] The shaman tells you sometimes not to eat tongue or liver. If you don't want to keep away from this, after four days you cook liver or whatever it was he told you not to eat. Then he comes and marks it with pollen, puts it toward your mouth three times, and the fourth time you eat it. Then it is all right. This removel of the restriction is called "one can eat it again."

755 751 [431] At the conclusion of the ceremony the shaman may present the patient with a curative or protective amulet to hasten recovery and to prevent a relapse. This may be one of the four ceremonial gifts required by the terms of the rite, but more often it is something especial made by the shaman.[19]

[777] [756] Often the shaman gives the woman patient a piece of decorated buckskin to wear on her hair. A turquoise bead might be given a man and a piece of abalone shell to a woman. Sometimes a buckskin jacket or cap is made for the patient by the shaman. Sometimes it is a feather, sometimes a cross. The patient is directed to wear this after the ceremony so the disease will not come back any more. Bags of paint or pollen are sometimes worn for good luck after a ceremony. Different shamans give different things to wear.

756 [431] [778] [782] Before the shaman departs on the fourth night, payment is made to him. Usually an understanding has been reached in advance. Sometimes the gifts are in view during the entire last evening, for supernatural power is well pleased when its ceremony is generously rewarded. More than the agreed amount may be placed before the shaman. Then, because the ceremonialist is grateful to the patient, he is expected to continue to pray for him and ritually protect him. In fact, some resentment may be felt when a shaman does not maintain interest in a case: [578]

[19] In 1909, on the field expedition already mentioned, M. R. Harrington collected a large number of these amulets from the Chiricahua Apache. These objects are now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City.

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not get a man well, I know that the man is mistaken about his trouble. If I get a person well, I usually get other payment besides the ceremonial gifts. For the ceremonial gifts I must receive a horse, a piece of turquoise with an eagle feather stuck through a hole in it, and an unblemished buckskin, these four things. They must be given before the ceremony starts. I have the feathers on my hat and the turquoise I wear through the ceremony.

The ceremony can take place in the day or the night, but it has to be continued for four days or four nights. If a person got struck or frightened by lightning in the afternoon, the ceremony would begin in the afternoon. I try to begin it at about the same time of day or night that the experience with lightning occurred.

First of all in my ceremony I smoke. I blow the smoke to the four directions, calling each by its color name. Then I call on Thunder and say, "Before you did this to him, this man's body and spirit were in a healthy condition. Now he is sick. I plead with you to breathe some of your spirit into this man, to make him over as he should be."

I have to have medicine for the sick person too. To make this medicine I take wood from a tree which has been struck by lightning, burn it, take the ashes, and put them in cool water. Scrapings from abalone shell are put with it too. With the ashes I make a lightning design (a zigzag) on the four sides of the cup. And I make the lightning design on the man's face, running it into the mouth. I pray, and while I pray I raise the cup upward four times, then toward the patient three times, and make the patient drink on the fourth.

Then I begin with the songs. This is my first song:

He in the sky who is holy,
He who is Black Thunder
Who put up the earth,
He zigzags down with life
To impart life to her body;
He in the sky who is holy,
Black Thunder, my father.

This same song is sung to the other directions; the color terms alone change. At the end of the second song I push the chest, back, and sides of the patient with my hand four times and then blow the evil influence away. While I am singing, I am asking help of my power.

After the four songs I pray again. This last part changes to suit the occasion. Then the ceremony for this one day or night is finished. This power of mine comes from Thunder. Thunder power carries you to old age.

I have a hat that goes with this ceremony. I was ordered by a dream to make the hat. I do not use the hat in the ceremony or use it at all. I was told in my dream that the hat would just be for luck in the ceremony. But the hat belongs to Lightning; it belongs to this ceremony. It is copied after the old way.

I lost this hat one time. Later I was walking with four men. We were hunting

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They had to run the horses up the side of a mountain and were at the top. One of them caught a gentle horse and got on it. The other roped a wild one, and when he was about to get on, it pitched with him and threw him off. He lay there as though he were dead. Only his throat moved a little.

The man who was left sat there crying. He didn't know what to do. He had a little buckskin pouch of pollen tied around his waist. There was one old sorrel horse standing near by. He marked the forehead of the horse with pollen and asked the horse to help him restore his companion. He led the horse to the man, from the east, and the horse put his nose to the man four times and neighed. In the same way he led the horse to the injured man from the south, the west, and the north, and the horse acted the same each time. Then the injured man began to stir, and he got up and asked what had happened. The sorrel horse went back to the herd then.

Later this sorrel horse talked to the man it had cured. It told him where the two men should camp that night on the return journey. They followed this advice. The horse told him where to camp for the second night too. This was at an open place, but the horse said, "Do not be afraid even though it is out in the open." They camped in that place and were not disturbed. The third night the horse told him that they should camp at a place called Sand House. On the fourth night the horse told him that they should stop between two mountains.

Then the horse spoke to the one it had cured. It told him, "I'm old and I'm no longer strong. I'd like to take you back to the place where you live, but I can't make it. A man who is thin can make it back to his home. But horses are different. We have to be fat and strong. So after you start out tomorrow you are going to miss me. But don't look for me. I am going back to my home. But I'll tell you now just how to continue your journey, where to stop each night, and where your relatives are now."

[756]

And the horse told him, "I give these songs to you. You will be a shaman through the horse. If anyone falls off a horse and is injured, you can heal him with these songs. These songs will cure even if bones are broken. And here is some medicine to use for those who are hurt inside.[30] But if the large cords at the back of the neck are broken, the ones which hold up the head, this ceremony will not be able to restore the person."

The men continued the journey as the horse directed and got back safely to their people.

231 755 539

How this man effectively used the ceremony he thus obtained is the subject of another narrative:

A leading man rode out with others to get horses that they had tied out somewhere. The rest came back, but this leading man was still missing. His family were worried. Then someone saw his horse standing on a ridge. It was saddled,

[137] [977] [232]

[30] Possibly "horse medicine" (*Eriogonum jamesii*), of which it is said, "It is a plant used in the horse ceremony. It is chewed for luck with horses. Give it to horses, too, when they are sick."

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231 755 539 It happened at Baharito. We were driving a bunch of wild horses. T. had the gentle horses and some of us younger men were running the wild ones. P.'s horse got his foot in a hole. The horse fell with him. The rope was caught around P.'s knee and he lay like dead with his mouth open when we came up. After the horse fell, it got up and walked a little ways and stood there. I was going to P., but Old T. said, "Get away and don't touch him."[1] So we went away and talked of other things.

T. went to the east side and walked toward him, praying softly to himself. I could not hear what he said. He touched him, kicked him four times under the foot, put pollen in his mouth, and told him to get up. And P. did. T. went back to where the horse fell and got dirt from four tracks and put it in P.'s mouth. Then he got saliva from the mouth of the horse and put it all over P.'s clothes.

231 755 533 539 [126] In recording ceremonial songs, the details of another horse ceremony were learned:

This is R.'s horse ceremonial song. We were driving horses to Whitetail where we were going to brand them. This happened at Whitetail Spring. There were only three horses left in the corral. W. went across. Two others were in there roping horses. The three horses started at once and knocked W. down. He was nearly dead; he didn't come to for three or four hours.

Then R. worked on him. That's how I heard this song. He sang more than this one song, but I just caught this one. If you ever get hurt from a horse, it will fix you up. He used some herbs in his ceremony too. . . . .

These are the words of the song:

The sun's horse is a yellow stallion;
His nose, the place above his nose, is of haze,
His ears, of the small lightning, are moving back and forth.
He has come to us.
The sun's horse is a yellow stallion,
A blue stallion, a black stallion;
The sun's horse has come out to us.

231 789 [533] [182] The horse ceremony is of great importance also in taming wild horses and in securing fresh horses on raids. When it is used for these purposes, the rite is confined principally to songs and prayers.

[977] Some knew how to sing before going on a raid. They sang to corralled horses, so the horses would give them good luck.

[926] Before leaving for raid or war, they often have a ceremony conducted by one who knows the ceremony of the horse. This is so good horses will fall into their

[756]

[1] After a mishap with a horse, recovery is speedier if the injured person is not touched until a horse shaman takes charge.

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hands, so that their horses will be strong and carry them through, and so that all in the party will have good luck.

231 525 541 789 [237]

Gambling is a serious enterprise, and horse-racing is one of its important forms:

A horse shaman performs a ceremony over race horses used for gambling. I have seen horses worked over like this. Horses which have been taken care of by a horse shaman in this way always have an eagle feather tied just where the tail bone leaves off. The owner of the horse usually gives the horse shaman something that has to do with a horse for his pay—a saddle, a blanket, a bridle, or something like that.

Anything fast, like the coyote, the fox, the wind, or clouds, should be used in songs to make a horse run fast.[33]

232 756 231

When a valuable horse is to be gelded or is injured or sick (though "if a horse has been witched, you can't cure it"), the owner is likely to consult a horse shaman.

T. . . . . knew the ceremony of the horse. He knew a lot about the sickness of this animal. I saw him castrate them. People brought the horses to him to castrate. He treated horses that couldn't pass water and some that were going blind too.

232 789 231

But often the owner, though he is not a horse shaman, injects some ceremonialism into his care of his horse:

If a horse can't pass water, we have a little ceremony for it. Take a rope, hit the horse on the back with it, and tie a knot in the rope. Do this four times. Say prayers meanwhile. Don't hit the horse hard enough to hurt it. Then trot the horse a few hundred yards and bring it back to the same position.

When a horse gets blind, they cut the vein leading down from the eye that's getting bad. The horse gets well then. This is done to sheep now too. I have done it to both. If a horse is sluggish, it is given a root called "black medicine" which is put in oats or mescal or something the horse likes.

We practice bloodletting on a horse which is lazy. Then we put turquoise on the cut.

231 789 [237]

Horses that are scary and jump sideways are fixed with eagle feathers. These are tied on the mane or to the bridle. Then the horse doesn't get scared. I did it like that at Whitetail myself.

[825] [237]

[33] The hummingbird is used as an aid in racing too: "Its feathers help in making a man or a horse speedy."

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411 788 789 Now the bow and arrows (or the gun) are held against the chest, pointing first downward to the left, then upward to the right. At the same time face the east and pray. The weapon is next worked over the right shoulder, across the back, and down to the left hand.

Then the bow string is run through the mouth, and some of the "juice" of the string is sucked off. This is spit into the palm of the left hand, and crosses are made with the juice as before. Then the prayer is repeated.

778 [792] *Sacred places and summary.*—Besides the homes of the Mountain People, places with markings on the walls or on rocks may be considered sacred. "I have heard the old men tell of one cave which has the sun, moon, stars, and Mountain Spirits on the walls. . . . . They pray when they see this."

There are also wayside shrines and places of offering:

It is a pile of rock and stones about four feet high and eight feet wide. There are four holes in the center. The foundation is east and west, and the holes are running toward the east. You pick up a stone or leaves and hold this to the four [782] corners—east, south, west, and north—while you pray. Then you drop what you have in the hole. It's asking a blessing. They take this to be a holy place.

We were on a trip by horse and we came to one of these. The older people told us younger ones what to do. We were on horseback. We rode around the left side of the shrine and dropped the stone in and then came right back. We could have done it on foot too. I have heard ceremonial songs, a long time ago, mention these shrines. The name means that rocks churn about in this place.

[793] [797] One informant ascribed the origin of sacred shrines to the mythological figure, Kantaneiro, who "told the Indians to do this for long life and good luck."

These shrines are now used primarily as a place of contemplation and prayer by persons starting on a perilous trip:

There is a ceremonial place on that mountaintop. The people go there before they leave on a long or dangerous journey. It is believed that, if you go to the place and drop a stone on the pile already there or throw on a sprig of a juniper tree, you will return safely.

128 In a society where shamanism is so broadly construed, to be sure that every possible rite is represented in a collection, it would be necessary to have the perfect confidence of everyone in the community and to work with every adult. What has been [787] presented is admittedly only a sampling. Comments and stories pertaining to ceremonies obtained through supernatural experi-

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Another thing about the hunt according to the old Chiricahua ways: The older men would always give this advice to the younger. "Don't eat before you go out on the hunt," they would say. "Even though you have plenty in camp, don't eat in the morning before you go out. Go out and hunt with an empty stomach. Then Yusn will pity you. Perhaps you will not see anything to shoot though it is late in the day. You'll be empty, hungry, an object of pity. But if you go out with a full stomach, you'll hunt all day and won't get anything. As soon as you make your kill and come back with it, you can eat all you want."

The crow is associated with the hunt. A tale relates how animals were kept hidden by the crows until Killer of Enemies, with the help of Coyote, freed them during the absence of their keepers. The crows returned just in time to see their animals escape, and in their anger called the names of the waste products which form their usual fare. "So the human beings get all the best part of the meat, and the crows get what is left." On the basis of this story, the appearance of a crow just before the hunt is accepted as a favorable omen:

Well, suppose I am planning to go out hunting tomorrow. Crow might be very happy, flying around my camp. Then I might say, "Well, Crow, I'm going out hunting tomorrow and if I kill a deer you'll get the entrails, so help me." The crow must be connected in some way with hunting, but I've never heard how. But that's the way of it.

The attitude of the hunter should be one of reverence and generosity:

If I am going hunting with you, before we start out you might tell me, "If I kill two deer for you, I'm going to kill a good fat one and it will be mine." You must not show your selfishness in any way. If you say anything like this and walk all day and get no deer, you know what is the cause of it. You brought it on yourself. And even if you have killed several deer and you say something like this, you'll have bad luck later on. It'll make it bad for you.

The attitude against optimism is emphasized particularly in one of the rules of the hunt.[1] "The Chiricahua don't allow baskets around the hunt. To bring them means that you are overconfident that they are going to be filled up. It spoils your luck."

In late fall, when the deer are fatter and the hides better,

[1] One elderly informant, an Eastern Chiricahua, claimed to know nothing of this rule.

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224 method, deer can be directed toward a "cliff or steep place so that they will have to stop or go down. Someone is stationed below to shoot them if they go down." There is no enthusiasm for running game, however, for it is said to make the meat "darker" and "slimy" and like the flesh of an old animal.

If a hunter is alone and kills a deer, he skins and butchers it immediately,[1] a task which must be done according to prescribed rules:

[193] The Chiricahua have their way for hunting. They follow rules according to the way Child of the Water hunted when he was on earth. He always put the head of his kill to the east. And he never walked in front of it to the east; he never walked past the head when he was skinning or butchering. He never straddled the deer or walked across the carcass as the whites do when butchering a cow.

First skin the side that is up. Begin at the face, cutting down the middle. Continue down the neck and along the center of the body and along the inside of the forefeet and back legs. Always cut through the middle of the joint so there won't be any baggy place when the hide is tanned. Pull the skin off the legs and keep cutting and working it off the rest of the carcass. When the skin is off the top side, cut the flesh along the side, break the ribs, and remove the entrails so as not to spoil the meat. Then turn the carcass over and skin the other side. Cut the sinews so that the lower leg joints are not stiff. They look too much the way a dead person does if they are stiff.

224 788 When the skin is entirely freed, a further ritual action takes place; this is sometimes simple, sometimes rather elaborate:

When I skin a deer, I brush the body with the skin in the four directions.

After the hide is off and the carcass is lying there, we twice lay the hide on reversed, with the front end of the hide on the back part of the carcass. Then we talk to the deer and say, "When you see me don't be afraid. May I be lucky with you all the time." This is done twice. In that way you have good luck with the deer and see them all the time.

[197]

224 To complete the butchering, the legs are cut off, the backbone is severed at the neck and below the ribs, and the remainder

[201]

[1] One informant said: "The wolf call is used in hunting as a signal if you want help after you have made the kill." But another informant thought it would be used only in special cases: "I do not think that calling like a wolf at a kill is general for the Chiricahua. I have been with old men when they killed deer, and they did not do it. A man who knows the ceremony of the wolf might."

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is cut into convenient sections. One man tells of his care to keep the meat of the right side separate from that of the left side until the butchering is concluded, but this seems to be personal with him. 224

If a hunter is on foot and far from his camp, it is likely that he will be able to take only part of the kill back with him:

If you are on foot and can't take it with you, you put the meat in a heap, place the hide over it, and say to the animals, "This belongs to Yusn; leave it alone." Then you hang it up in a tree by means of strongly spliced yucca strings. You hang it high enough so that animals cannot reach it. Then you put what you are going to take home in the hide. After reaching home, you go right back after the rest and bring it in. [283]

Another man mentioned a similar procedure, though he invokes a different supernatural:

You put part of the kill in a tree if you can't carry it all at once. It is tied there with strings made from the yucca leaf. There is a little prayer that is used at this time. You say, "This belongs to Hedos."[4] He was the "first man," sort of a religious man. He did this every time he made a kill. Now the Chiricahua do it. [283] [782] [776]

Crow is remembered with an offering. "Then I take the entrails out, put them to one side, and say, 'This is for you, Crow; make me lucky, and we'll have this kind of food all the time. I leave this for you every time.'" [825] [782] [776]

Certain parts of the deer must have special care if good fortune in the hunt is to be maintained: 224 825 777

As a general rule you must take the head home. Somebody might give you bad luck with it if you leave it there. You can do anything you want with it when you get it home, hang it up or anything. You must take the hoofs too. You can do what you want with them when you get them home too. Everybody is directed to do this.

A particular act also attends the bringing-back of the horns of a buck. "They take a slit of the entrails of a buck and tie it on the right horn. I was with M. hunting. He killed a deer and did this. I asked him why, and he said, 'For luck.'"

[4] This is the same supernatural character whose name was given before as Herus (see p. 198). The name is very unstable and has been recorded as Hados and Eyos as well.

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Chiricahua attack a village, they don't kill the women and children much, but let them run away. 727

The violent end of adult male captives at the hands of vengeful women has been described by several informants: 727 648

The Chiricahua treated Mexicans in a rough way when they were captured, but they didn't treat Americans like that. These Chiricahua were more the enemies of the Mexicans than of any other people on earth, because the Mexicans treated these Chiricahua in a nasty way.

They say they used to tie Mexicans with their hands behind their backs. Then they turned the women loose with axes and knives to kill the Mexican prisoner. The man could hardly run, and the women would chase him around until they killed him.

But usually they had to ask the head man whether he wanted it done. Then, even if he didn't want it done, the warriors could vote on it, and, if he was overruled, it would be done anyway. Usually the people whose relatives had been killed wanted it to be done. They wanted to have their way about it.

When a brave warrior is killed, the men go out for about three Mexicans. They bring them back for the women to kill in revenge. The women ride at them on horseback, armed with spears.

Women captives are rarely taken; when they are, there can be no sexual interest in them:

When Chiricahua men are on the raid or warpath and they capture Mexican women or women of other tribes, they don't do anything to them. They are afraid to have sexual intercourse with them, for they say, if they do, their luck will be spoiled. They can't do it. But the Mexicans did it every time they got Indian women. [833] [777]

Even after arrival in the camp, it is considered improper to mistreat the women captives sexually. "The Chiricahua do not force a woman captive. If you can make her love you, all right. But she is not mistreated."

The only captive really desired, then, is the small boy: 727

Our warriors would try to catch a young boy. They don't bother with women and older people. All the prisoners who were brought back and lived with the Chiricahua that I know about were males. At first they have to act as servants. They have to eat as servants. Some escape after a while. Others stay.

It is taken for granted that they belong in the group; they become members of the group. The feeling of captivity wears off in time. Such a boy can marry into the tribe later, and his children are accepted as members of the tribe. The captive is brought up by the man who captures him. He calls the man father and the woman who adopts him mother. [597]

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262 Ceremonial considerations, too, govern the consumption of eggs, particularly for women:

[842] We always ate eggs. Some women won't eat eggs for fear of getting children, however. But this is according to the shaman's directions. We eat the eggs of the quail and duck.

252 262 Those who do eat eggs prefer them boiled or roasted in hot ashes:

Some people eat the eggs of the quail, the duck, and other birds. A good many quail eggs are found together. The eggs are boiled, or a fire is made, the ashes are pushed aside, the eggs are put in there, and the ashes are put back over them.

Most meat is prepared by broiling over an open fire or by boiling, though some of it is pit baked. In the common broiling processes the meat is suspended over the coals with a stick held in the hand, or it is placed on top of the hot coals and turned at intervals. Sometimes it is cooked by placing it on a flat rock which borders a hot fire, while another rock, lying perpendicular to the first, holds in the heat. The most choice portion of meat is the fat part "on top of the ribs" next to the skin.

The favorite method of cooking wood rats, rabbits, and prairie dogs is to bury them in hot ashes before skinning them, and then to skin and eviscerate them when they are well roasted. But one informant, in describing how rabbits may be cooked, said: "Throw the whole rabbit on the coals. When it is partly cooked, take it off, skin it, take out the insides, and put it back on the coals to finish." Rats are sometimes skinned and cleaned before being roasted in hot coals. Wood rats and rabbits are also boiled, but this is a less popular mode of preparation.

Mountain lion or peccary meat, when it is prepared for those who will eat it, is roasted or boiled in the same manner as deer, antelope, or elk meat.

For those who have no aversion to eating any part of the head, it is cooked in a heap of hot coals or is steam baked in a small pit: "My people put the deer head in the fire, cover it with ashes, and let it cook. They break the eyes first. That is their way. It is done for good luck." The pit-baking method resembles the way in which mescal is prepared:

[825] [777]

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A man must not only be able to make arrows but to use them effectively. In times of peace he keeps in practice by frequent competitions with his fellows. "If a man is expert, he can shoot one arrow, then shoot two more into the air before the first one comes down." Significant personal differences are found in the ability to make and handle bows and arrows. Some men are acclaimed as experts; others are credited with fair performance; while still others are rated decidedly below average.

The quiver and the bow cover are usually made at the same time and of the same material; they are always attached and are both called by the same term, literally "arrow container." Mountain lion skin is the favorite material for the quiver because it is thought that "it makes a man lucky." The fur and the tail are left on, and the finished product is called "quiver with tail." Deer, antelope, otter, and wildcat pelts, with the fur either scraped off or left on, are also used for quivers. Recently hides of cattle and horses have been used, usually without the fur. One informant asserted that the skin of a fetal calf makes a good quiver.

The man cuts a wristguard out of rawhide for himself. This laces up the back of the left wrist and has a projecting piece which protects his hand against the impact of the bowstring.

For a spear a man selects a sotol stalk or a young spruce, scrapes and dries the wood, and sharpens and fire-hardens the tip. Such spears are about seven feet long. The shaft is usually painted in one or more colors, and two eagle feathers are attached near the point. After contact with Europeans, metal knives and bayonets were inserted to make a still more deadly weapon. In battle the spear is never hurled, and it is used by the warrior only when he is on foot.

The round hide shield is connected as much with ceremonialism as with actual defense. It, too, may be a recent acquisition:

> Just those with power have them. The man with power prepares these hides himself. He uses the hide from the shoulder region of the animal. He makes it just big enough to protect his chest and face.
>
> First he takes the hide off. Then he scrapes all the flesh from it. He does this with a knife, a steel knife. (They made this shield only from the time they had steel knives and not before.)

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All other illustrations secured lack this feature, however. A small pipe cut with a knife from soft limestone was described by another informant. Since this pipe resembles the modern American pipe and must be made with a metal knife, it is probably a more recent type. As a less durable approximation to the tubular clay pipe, blades of the broad-leafed yucca are rolled into the same shape and are used as long as they last. One informant said that he has also seen a length of reed filled with tobacco and smoked.

SPORTS AND GAMES OF ADULTS

Games and sports comprise much of adult recreation. The various arrow games already described in the section on children's pastimes—shooting for distance or for accuracy, sliding arrows, and the play which has been likened to blind man's buff—are popular with grownups as well. Men also play the bone or "heads and tails" game and the marble games.[4]

Competitions in tug-of-war and wrestling are frequently arranged. A variant of the usual tug-of-war is to fasten a rawhide rope around the waist of a very strong man. Three others hold the free end of the rope, along which knots have been tied to afford them a grip. The man to whom the rope is fastened is further handicapped by having a fourth member of the opposition attempt to hold him down. If he manages to arise, nevertheless, and to drag forward the three who are bracing themselves at the other end of the rope, he is the winner.

Keen interest is manifested in wrestling:

> We wrestle a great deal. Some men are expert and are just like professionals. They even wrestle with men from other tribes who come here. Big sums are bet. The wrestlers start by holding each other around the middle. After they begin, tripping, twisting the arm, or anything is allowed. When one man is under the other, it ends. It doesn't matter which part of his body touches, as long as one man is off his feet and the other man is on top. Sometimes it lasts for hours.

Most contests of chance and skill involve gambling, and it behooves anyone who wagers seriously to have his luck ceremonially safeguarded:

[4] See pp. 50–53.

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525 526 977 [521] There is a ceremony for luck in games and gambling, for luck in the hoop-and-pole game, for foot-racing and other games. When a person has a ceremony for any of these, he is usually a "professional." He depends on it to win big stakes. Ceremonies like these are among the most secret ones, for a man doesn't want others to know too much about it and spoil his luck. You can get a man to talk about anything but this and witching usually.

Ceremonies for luck are mostly in connection with racing, the hoop-and-pole game, stave games, and the moccasin game, for these are the big betting games. Singing or ceremony for luck is not carried on for the ball game or shinny. They aren't betting games but are more for exercise, although, of course, people bet on them too.

526 Foot races in which both men and women participate, constantly occur:

[804] We have races for short distances in which women as well as men run. Sometimes the women beat the men. Somebody paces off the race course. Instead of measuring by yards he uses steps. Two steps are like a yard; each time the right foot comes forward the man counts one. The track is one hundred of these "yards" long.[5]

[805] During the race the runners are timed by counting. Old men sit at the finish line counting as the runners race. Each runner has someone counting for him. I saw two of the best runners race when I was a boy. The old man only counted to eleven, and the winner was over the finish line.

At the start of the race they don't crouch. They stand braced. The man who is starting them might say, "I'm going to count. When I say 'two,' go!" Or two men might walk toward the runners with a string or a stick. When the runner is touched, he starts off. When we are camping in a place where we are going to stay for a time, we would make a track. We clear a path. This is used for horse-racing too. Cross-country foot races take place once in a while also.

541 Horse-racing and the ceremonialism associated with it are discussed by an informant:

Horse races are generally started with a gun or by shouting, "Now!" Some horses would be back of the line facing the other way; some would be on the line

[5] Another unit of measure, "one stick," was described by an informant: "We measure by saying 'one stick.' This is the distance from the middle of the chest to the end of the outstretched middle finger. Both arms outspread equals 'two sticks.' Later these were called yards. A step of the right length was called 'one stick' too. Later 100 steps were considered 100 yards. In buying a yard of cloth now we are really asking for 'the length of one stick.' The actual length of the foot is used as a unit of measure too. To measure height you take a rope or stick and measure the person; then you put it down on the ground and measure off the feet."

[177] Note that at least two attempts have been made to equate aboriginal units of measure with the American "yard."

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facing forward. Most face the line, but some are trained the other way. We ride them bareback. Women do not ride against men, but they do race among themselves. There are cross-country horse races too. It takes one day's travel to cover the course. 541

Some sing for their horses. This is done at home before the race. Let us say a man's horse is going to run tomorrow. He is going to bet heavily on it. Then he will sing for the horse so it will win. Not everybody knows such a ceremony, but some know the songs. If you don't know songs, you might pay a person to sing for your horse. The same thing is done for runners in the foot races. [533] [789]

Shinny is one of the roughest and most taxing of the games: 526

To play shinny you have to have a stick about three and a half feet long which is hooked at one end. It is usually made of oak wood and the curved part is the root. The one who is making it heats it and ties it around at one end and lets it stay tied for a day or overnight, if it has been made in the evening. The next day it will be curved and will stay that way. Some players carry a second stick, a straight one, too, when they play. The straight stick is used for protection. It is used to ward off the other fellow's stick. Some play without this second stick though.

They usually knock off a piece of round wood for the ball. It is about half the size of a baseball when it is finished. Sometimes a buckskin ball of the same size is used. Any number can play on a side. Usually there are from five to twelve on a side. But there has to be the same number on each side.

A flat place a half-mile long or less is chosen. When there are ten or twelve on a side, they use a longer distance. The width does not matter except at the goal. But at the goal the ball has to go between two objects, usually trees, to count. This is true for both sides.

In starting the game they all march out into the center of the field. They just guess at the center. The two leaders meet in the center and hook their sticks like two boxers touching gloves. They spit on something flat and throw it up, and one of them calls, "Wet," or "Dry." The one who wins out on this can choose the side his team will play on. Each side scatters out and faces the other's goal. [777].

The two leaders tell their men to get ready. They decide which of them is going to throw the ball high in the air between them. Or another fellow is there to throw it up. Players from the same side can be on both sides of the center to start, so that if their leader misses the ball at first and the other leader hits it, they can get possession of it.

When the ball goes up, the two in the center can hit it in the air as it is on its way down or wait until it strikes the ground. But it has to be hit with the stick. If I am one of these leaders and think that the other fellow will miss it in the air, I wait until he has swung and is off balance, and then I hit it from the ground to one of my men.

Once the ball is in play, they can advance it by kicking it or by hitting it with

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three rings are not so big as the first one; they are just big enough for four or five men to stand in. The first of these smaller circles is called "where one stops first." The second is "one usually goes here second" and the third we call "one usually goes here third."

Suppose I am head of my team. We pick up a piece of flat rock and spit on one side of it. The other captain says, "You toss it. Which side do you want?" I take the dry side. Then the ball is rolled slowly between the two sides. At the same time the rock is thrown up. We watch to see whether the dry side comes up. If it does, all on my side run for the big circle, and the other side run to get the ball and try to hit one of us with it before we get in. If they do that, they will get in the circle first. If the rock turns up wet, they are the ones to run for the circle, and we try to hit one of them before he makes it.

Now my side is in. The head of the other side will talk to his men and place them out. The pitcher is very careful. If one of my men is outside the ring or partly outside it he can hit him with the ball.

The pitcher must stand before the ring. He must throw the ball underhand. The ball must be hit with the open hand. Some catch and throw the ball at the same time when batting, but this is a violation of the rule. Some do it so quickly you can't catch them at it. To count, the ball has to go forward.

I am the first man to hit it, say. I try to place the ball so that I can get to the first circle before getting hit. If I get hit by a man on the other side who picks it up and throws it at me before I get to the first circle, as soon as I'm hit I run for the ball. My team, as soon as they see me get hit, run out and try to help me. The other team, as soon as I am hit, run for the big circle. If I or one of my men gets the ball and hits one of them before he gets in the circle, my side is still in and can keep on batting.

If I hit it up high in the air and a fellow on the other team gets under it before it hits the ground, he can hit it away, and all on his side run for the big circle. It's just like catching a fly in American baseball; it puts my side out if they get to the circle safely.

But, if I hit it and make the first little circle, my second man is up. The pitcher watches me and tries to hit me when I am out of the circle. If my man hits it and someone on the other side standing near the circle where I am gets it, I do not have to run. More than one can get in one circle. So I stay there and do not take chances.

If we all get in the first little circle, the pitcher stands there and throws the ball straight up in the air, giving us a chance to run. We say, "Throw it up! You don't throw it high enough." So he throws it higher, and we run. He catches it and throws after us. Sometimes you make a couple of circles on a pitcher that way.

We play the game all afternoon, as long as we want to. We can stop any time. We keep track of the number of "runs" each side makes. One side puts marks on one side of the big ring, one on the other. If we all come in in a bunch, we each make a mark on our side. Sometimes fast girls mixed with boys to play this

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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Only two play against each other at a time. When they start to play, one takes the hoop, and they walk to the center. Each man is holding his pole. These poles are long, almost as long as the playing field. One of the poles is colored red at the butt end. The one with the hoop rolls it toward the grass ridges, using an underhand motion. When the hoop is about to fall over, the men slide their poles after it. Each wants the butt of his pole to fall under the hoop. The butt of the pole is notched and marked, and each notched part which shows up under the hoop counts so much. The hoop is notched too, and it also has a knotted string tied across the middle. We call these knots "beads"; the biggest knot is in the middle.[6] You make something, too, according to the notches or the "beads" which cross the pole. All these notches have names. You agree on how much they should count before the game begins, and you agree how many points are needed to win.

The two men play from the center, first to the east, and then to the west. Only the winning throw is counted each time, and only one score, that of the man who is ahead, is kept. What he gets is added to his score and what the other fellow gets is subtracted from it. Men gamble a great deal on this game.[7]

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In a real game of this kind you are not allowed to cross the playing field from the east while anyone is throwing. That's the rule. I don't know why it is, but they play it like that. And they don't allow any dog near the grounds where they are playing hoop-and-pole. Also it is strictly forbidden any girl or woman to go anywhere near the hoop-and-pole ground. Any woman who comes around will get swollen joints and pains in her legs. And it would sort of paralyze her. The women never come near the place; they go a long way to avoid it. If a woman even comes in sight, the men straighten up and hold the pole up straight until she passes out of sight. Women and children know where the ground is and keep away from it. There are a good many things to remember in this game. A man who is playing doesn't like anyone to step on his shadow. It makes him lose his luck.

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Little material is forthcoming concerning the origin and mythological background of the game, but the words of one informant suggest an association between the pole and the snake:[8]

[6] One informant claims that there should be 50 "beads" on each side of the big "bead," making a total of 101. Another described a hoop which had 30 "beads" on each side of the big "bead." Evidently there are minor variations in the "ways" of the hoop-and-pole makers.

[7] When the trickster Coyote loses all his possessions in a gambling game, it is, characteristically, the hoop-and-pole game he is said to have been playing.

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[8] When M. R. Harrington purchased a hoop-and-pole set from its Chiricahua maker in 1909, he was told: "The red paint on the wheel and on one pole represents a snake. Two men were arguing as to who had the strongest supernatural power. Finally, one took a snake and made a hoop of it to show his power. Not to be outdone, the other took a snake and transformed it into a pole. Then, as